131 /99 cont./
167 As is seen, the Tukano group is found distributed both in Colombian territory and Brazilian, and the migratory movements of natives between these two countries are quite frequent.

241 The Tukano work the land by means of the slash-and-burn
•[462] method. The piece of ground intended for agriculture is always cleaned of underbrush and trees by the /100/ men, a job at which each man works individually or assisted by his male
[412] relatives. At one time, before the arrival of the Creole rubber
[177] workers in the region, the trees and underbrush were cut with stone axes, but since the arrival of the rubber worker the machete has been introduced, and today no Tukano Indian would consider using the lithic instrument again.

Trees of great size are generally left in the place in which they fell, but small trees and bushes are burned toward the end of summer, or the dry season. The ashes obtained from the burning are used as fertilizer to improve the soil, but owing to the thin vegetal layer, to erosion, and to the general poorness of the land, the Tukano Indian is obliged to select and clear a
[242] new garden every three or four years. The method of crop rotation is not practiced because the forest vegetation rapidly returns to invade the land that is not cultivated and tended. The field under cultivation rarely exceeds one or two hectares.

[412] The planting is done immediately after finishing the burning, among the stumps of the felled trees and the trunks of the toppled trees. Probably the only aboriginal implement used in the planting is the planter's stick (2),

2. Digging-stick /this term is given in English/.

which is used primarily to loosen the earth and to open holes in it for planting seeds or young plants. The ground is rarely cultivated and tended after the planting is done, but weeds are pulled out and care is taken that the forest does not invade the garden.

/100 cont./

241 Just as the cutting and burning of the forest undergrowth
462 from land intended for agriculture is the exclusive work of the men, the planting, the care of the garden, and the harvesting
[249] are tasks done solely and exclusively by the women. A man would be considered diminished in his masculinity by the rest of the society if he devoted himself to these tasks. The only exception in this case is the cultivation of coca and tobacco, in which the man is the one who does all the work, from the planting and care to the harvesting and processing.

241 Although bitter yuca is the most important crop among the Tukano Indians, they also have plantings of pineapple, papaya, plantains, flame (3),

3. Dioscorea Lindmanii Uline.

[439] maize, sugar cane, coca, tobacco, /101/ and lemons. The
[437] pineapple, the papaya, and the plantain are products utilized principally in the barter with the rubber workers for articles such as salt, cigarettes, matches, ammunition, flashlight batteries, soap, etc.

224 Hunting, in the Tukano culture, fills the important function
[262] of providing the members of the community with meat in the alimentation. Before the arrival of the rubber workers along the
224 Vaupés, the hunting of mammals was done by means of the bow
223 and arrow, while birds were hunted with darts shot by means of a
[177] blowgun, the points of which had been bathed in curare. At present, the shotgun, obtained through work in the rubber plantations, has replaced the bow and arrow. For the hunting of small birds, the poisoned dart and the blowgun are still being used.

224 Hunting is done during the night, and generally it is done individually. In hunting the animal is not hunted and pursued through the forest, but awaited at the water holes on the shores of the rivers and streams. The native who goes after game remains in his canoe and uses his lantern both to distinguish the animal by the color of his eyes and to blind it momentarily and thus have

/147 cont./

9) Indolence.

461 To visitors used to the intense and constant rhythm of activity and work in our great cities, it will seem strange to encounter the natives, during the day, in bed in their hammocks, asleep or entertained for hours on end in pleasant conversation. The repetition of these encounters will plant in their minds the traditional conviction about the indolence of the Indians. Perhaps it would be more exact to state that the Indian is neither the hero of hardship nor the prototype of indolence, although by temperament he is slow in his movements, as he is of spirit.

The nature that surrounds him and his way of life establishes for him a rhythm of work. He performs all those jobs that the customs impose on him: he builds his house, cuts down the forest for a clearing, prepares his fishing nets, hollows out his canoe, occupies himself with fishing and hunting, manufactures his utensils. If we do not find him busy from morning to night every day, like the civilized, it is because he does not /148/ feel the necessity of it. He does not have ambitions; he is contented with little, and he works as much as necessary in order to live. It is also certain that the depth of preconceived opinion that he feels against the civilized is not stimulus for the Indian to make an effort when he works for the "white." He will show even less desire than in his own work. He will nevertheless do a reasonable job under two conditions: a timorous respect for the white and constant supervision.

571 Comparing the Indians among themselves, one cannot blame anyone as stingy. It is the most harmonious economic equilibrium that one can imagine, although it is at a very low level. *[192] Very rare are the cases, that are known, of singularly indolent types, tesé-bũhũgõ, and parasites, whom their fellow tribesmen themselves find fault with.

• 462 The woman, yes, finds herself busier, more absorbed as it were, in the housework (as will be seen later, VIII -- 1, a (9)), busying herself with the younger children, cultivating her clearing, and preparing the food or making some artifacts.

/179 cont./

177 2) Household goods and utilitarian objects.

41 The house of the forest dweller who has been in the service of the "white" or has traded with them now displays many objects obtained from the civilized, such as kettles, mugs, ax, bottles, fishhooks, scissors, hammocks, and even trunks or suitcases in which to keep their clothes. Except for the cotton hammock, which among the tribes of the Uaupés, Tiquié, and Papurí is today almost as common or more so than the native one made of tucum, the other objects are rarities in the conjunction of the utensils of native manufacture.

We shall now recall these, and later on we shall describe the ornaments and musical instruments.

323 a) Ceramics.

462 All the ceramic work falls to the woman: looking for the clay, to the man.

*192 323 1) Earthen pots and cooking pots. Camotim or camocim is a regional term of the Amazon, and a generic one of the Língua Geral or Nheengatú, equivalent to pot, and is used to designate vessels of very different shape and dimensions, according to their use. Among the products of native ceramics, some are similar to a common pan of /180/ ours, are called ki-pu-tõ (Nheengatú, yapepú), and are used to prepare mingau /a manioc dish/ and quinhapira /a fish dish/. There also exist:

wai-doá-tõ, to cook the fish;

wai-baarí-pá, in which to serve the fish to the guests;

pêru-tõ, a kind of large vessel in which to keep caxirí. They distinguish the:

pêru-ahũa aparí-pa, large black cooking pot in which the beijú caxirí is fermented;

pêru-poorí-pá, in which the caxirí already prepared is kept;

sũxtõ-wõ is the water pot for carrying water;

kaxpí-tõ, the one in which the kaxpí is distributed (VI -- 4, i (3)).

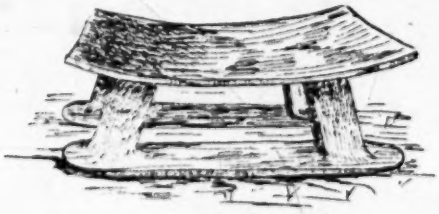
/186 cont./

415 252 The woman, as she grates, will do it with the two hands alternately, and not in a uniform rhythm, but with sudden pulls that cause movement of her very breasts. She will be seated on the ground, having between /187/ her legs the grater, the head of which they support against the stomach. It is exclusively women's work. • [462]

The grater is such an useful object that on the lower Rio Negro the civilized adopted it as well as the tipití (VI -- 2, d (1)).

*192 352 4) Seat. The seat, in Tukano kũ-mũ-rõ (Uaupés kũmũ-no), is in general use, although its specialized producers are the Tukano. It is generally made out of sorva or arara-seringa (Cóuma guianénsis, Muell.), a not very heavy wood which hardly cracks.

They formerly made it with the help of their primitive adze. Today, instead of the syó-a, they use a digging iron or even an adze obtained from the civilized.



Little monoxylic seat (ku-mũ-rõ)

The dimensions are the most varied, some of only 30 to 40 centimeters and others of 120 to 150 centimeters. The style, however, is constant, to wit, the seating place is concave, with a double curvature in the longitudinal and transverse directions. It is always low, only 10 to 15 centimeters in height, with four legs connected by two longitudinal crossbars. And the seat, with the supports, is monoxylic, that is, made from one piece of wood.

[531] [824] They are accustomed to decorating the seat with the traditional designs, and over it something like a varnish, obtained from the sap of the bark of a wild inga tree, mẽ'rẽ (Uaupés mẽ'nẽ).

/190 cont./

283
[462]

The woman (23)

23. Among the Tuyuka, Bará, and in general the tribes of the headwaters of the Tiquié, Papurí, and Komé-ya, it is the man who prepares the miriti thread and the rede de "trinta fios" /net or hammock of "thirty threads"/.

prepares her thread by rubbing a bunch of fibers against her thigh. It is natural that this would make the thread dirty. In order to bleach it, they wash it well, using also the leaves of the papaya tree or lemon juice, resources that are obviously more recent.

First of all, she takes two bunches of fibers unequally, that is, the end of one of them projects farther on one side, and that of the other toward the opposite end. With the right hand she rolls toward the left, that is, against the thigh from the knee up. In order to add new fibers, she opens the end of the thread thus rolled and inserts there two more bunches of fibers, also combined unequally, and she rolls toward the right, that is, rubbing in the opposite direction, from the upper part of the thigh toward the knee. Once the adding is done, she rolls the two bunches of added fibers toward the left, as she had done with the first two bunches, and so on, rubbing the fibers on the right thigh with the right hand. In order to roll, she rubs them up the thigh; in order to add, down the thigh. Two bunches of fibers give a finer thread, and by twisting together two or more threads one obtains the thickness desired for the work in mind. The finer the thread, the more delicate the weaving will be.

*192
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When it is in the form of a skein, one should take the opportunity to wash and bleach the thread, and also to dye it. They ordinarily use vegetable dyes. The preferred colors are: reddish, obtained from õnõñá pũrĩ (carajurú, see VII -- 3, e /sic; see VII, 3, b, p. 433/), yellow, by means of a small batata resembling ginger and which is called in Nheengatú makaratañia, and a dark one, which is obtained by cooking the dyawé shrub (genipap). From the skein one later rolls the thread into large balls, which are kept in a sieve, in order not to become soiled.

/193 cont./

*192 because of their purpose, which is to kill the fish (wehẽ means
227 to kill), and in the Lingua Geral, puçá. It is a mesh of knots
284 made out of fibers of caroatá (Bromélia pinguis, Lin.), caroá (Neoglazióvia variegáta Ar. Com.), or even tucum. The meshes are narrower or wider, according to the purpose.

• [462] They are manufactured by the man. The pregnant woman
[784] cannot touch them, because the fishing would be fruitless. When they prepare their puçá, the men will remain silent, in order to have luck with the fishing.

They perform the work in two ways: either with successive knots, as the casting nets are prepared among the civilized; or using splinters of arumá /Ischnosiphon ovatus, Kcke./, tying them at intervals with caroatá knots, as if one were preparing /194/ a basket. Once this is ready, they take off the splinters and the caroatá knots present the desired net.

They manufacture them in two sizes: a larger one (jereré in Nheengatú), with the shape of a very wide funnel; it measures 1.5 meters or more in length and during the fishing is kept open by means of two poles tied at the ends, in such a way that, with the help of a third pole as a wedge, it almost forms a circle.

They also make smaller and funnel-shaped nets, ganapão /workman, porter/ type, fitted to a hoop equipped with a handle, such as are used to catch butterflies. It is with these that they catch the fish stupefied by the timbo.

It seems that all the men know how to weave their fishing nets, with the exception of the young men of the last generation.

4) Other woven products.

286 With the fibers of tucum or miritĩ they make those elegant
301 bands, yuxtá-seri, that they put on the legs (conf. VII -- 3, d (1)).

*[192] With these same fibers or with twisted embira they prepare some of the dance ornaments that must support the beautiful plumage.

They use monkey hide in order to make braids, which they wear as dance ornaments.

/194 cont./

286 531 In woven work as well as in plaited work they combine elements of various colors, producing very regular and pleasant designs. Due to their regularity and finish, some of their work almost reaches perfection.

*192 d) Basketry and plaited work.

285 For their basketry -- and all this work is executed by men -- the raw material is more varied. They use embira or the liber of [462] [342] some trees, especially that which they call pi'ĩ-karõ-gõ. They use palms, with a simple plaiting of the leaflets, on the walls of [227] the homes and, more rarely, also on the ceilings. They use strips of paxiúba (waxtá), patauá (yumĩ), and jacitára (wai-tu, a palm of sarmentose and aerial caulis) for mats (i'mĩ-sa) and fish enclosures (sũxteri-ka). It is with the uambé cipo (mĩ'sĩ) that they manufacture the baskets called aturás and the nassas for fishing. But it is especially the arumã (wõhõ), reduced to strips (wõhõ-phĩ), that they use the most, because with them they prepare baskets, sieves, and the tipití /manioc press/.

[824] The arumã (Schinosiphon /Ischnosiphon/ ovatus, Kckes., of the family of the Marantaceae) is a plant of "terra firma," but humid, with wide leaves, /195/ the stalk of which may exceed two meters. From it are separated strips, which, after [386] being dried, acquire the yellowish color of our chair cane. When [531] they want to execute their designs, the natives dye the little straws with their vegetable dyes. Sometimes they are colored on only one side, for example, for the designs on the inside of the sieves.

According to the purpose, the width of the meshes and the shape will vary.

For the plaiting, they make the straws quite even; they put them in good order on the ground (or on a mat), and, squatting, steadying them with the feet, they begin to plait with transverse colored or uncolored splints, according to the designs that they intend to make.

/196/

*192 285 415 One can distinguish three types of sieves: 1st, tõ-pa (in Nheengatú cumatá), is large, of very tight mesh, used to strain out the manicuera /the liquid from the mass of manioc/ and to extract the starch; 2nd, sũõ, or better sõõ-a (Nh. urupema), with a more open mesh and sometimes square in shape, in a frame of four rounded sticks, used to sift the mass of the water flour /see p. 310 /; 3rd, Baxtí, deeper, as small baskets for storing the beijú and other foods and objects. It is these that customarily bear the beautiful traditional designs.

3) Baskets.

*192 285 415 a) Pi'ʃ are large baskets which on the Amazon are customarily called aturás. They are used to transport mandioca, fruits, earth, firewood, luggage; they are woven exclusively by the Makú, who also work for the other tribes.

The traditional shape is the cylindrical one, with the base slightly wider than the mouth. The material is the uambé cipo, misʃ-da, quite strong, chosen without knots, and which is placed on the fire, in order to slip off the bark easily. The cipo is broken into two or three parts, and the plaiting is started from the bottom. The mouth is of rings of cipo, like a hoop, and is tied to the basket with woven caroatá fibers.

*192 462 482 The woman, upon whom the carrying of the pi'ʃ falls (the man must always walk unencumbered, in order to be able to defend himself and his family), carries it in the following manner: the aturá goes on her back, but is suspended from the forehead by means of a wide embira, pi'ʃ-karõ-pá (29),

> 29. Or pi'ʃ-kãrõ-kaxserʃ. It seems that the tree derived its name from the pi'ʃ, because its embira is commonly used to transport the pi'ʃ. Other embiras, however, are also used, such as sõ'ũ-kaxsero, deóti-kõ.

the ends of which, passing through the mouth of the basket, run along it and are interwoven on the bottom of it. They thus transport a load of 30 to 50 kilograms for a distance of kilometers.

/208 cont./

177 3. Clothing and shoes.

291 a) Clothing.

Under the influx of the civilized (the example of the white, whom the Indian likes to imitate, the instruction of the Missionaries, and the clothes that /209/ the latter give them), the natives are getting into the habit of wearing clothes. As a rule, those who have spent some years in the schools, upon returning to their aldeias, do not dispense with clothing any longer. At least a pair of pants or shorts (the men) and a skirt (the women), leaving the bust uncovered.

294 An interesting detail is that generally the women only make,
296 maintain, and wash feminine clothes. The men obtain ready-
462 made clothes, given or bought, and they must attend to washing and repairing them. Some men have been seen washing the clothing of their wives.

291 Originally, that is, before any influence from the civilized, dating from the discoveries of the New World, did they have any clothing? What would it have been?

For one thing, the warm climate does not impose the use of clothing. For another, the rains and frequent excursions into the forest, which offers shelter to the individual and would quickly wear out the clothes, discourage the wearing of clothing. This is what we could deduce, a priori, from their habitat.

The first Vigário Geral /Vicar-general/ of the Capitania of S. José do Rio Negro, Padre José Monteiro de Noronha, in 1759, says very originally: --"The Indians of these sertões /interior parts of the country/ commonly not having any more clothes than those that our first parents wore in the field of Damascus" (o. c. 145). He notices, as an exception, that the Cambeba wore long garments of cotton and without sleeves, open on the side.

A century later, in 1846, the costume is still the same, according to Wallace: -- "These Indians free themselves from the hindrance of clothing as much as is possible to conceive. The men wear only a small piece of tururí, which goes between their legs and is tied to a cord that goes around the waist. The

/233 cont./

372 Formerly fire was obtained by turning rapidly between the palms of the hands a small stick whose end was provided with a match of kapok, and rubbing it in the small orifice of another [192] small stick that was very dry. The apparatus is called pexká-mẽ wihyasé in Tukano.

262 The diet of these natives, although at first sight it does not seem so, is quite varied, rich in vitamins of vegetable and animal origin. As for the salts necessary to the organism, they get them from roots and fruits; as a matter of fact, they have a strong bone structure, and nevertheless the waters show a deficiency of [273] calcareous salts. As for sugar, they only have that of the fruits [249] and of the fermentation of their drinks. The cultivation of sugar cane is insignificant and intended practically for the preparation of the caxirís, although once in a while some Indian will be seen sucking it.

The amount of food that the Indian consumes daily is large, when he has plenty of it; although on other days, due to a lack of food, he is forced into a very strict fast. Perhaps the caxirí itself, which he drinks in large portions on the occasion of feasts, plays the role of a periodic washing of the stomach, intestines, and kidneys. It is certain that thin persons are rarely found among them, if one excludes the older women, who generally are so, and the sick. They are, on the contrary, plump in figure or even fat, without obesity or deforming adiposities, strong and healthy.

It is to be noted that the Indian emits a characteristic smell, which makes us think that it is due to a diet predominantly of fish and pepper.

/234/ 5) Hunting and fishing.

a) Fishing.

226 Fish is an important element in the diet of the Indians, as we have already seen. In the regimen of the family home, each family head provides the fish: it is his habitual, although not [462] exclusive, occupation. In the regimen of the collective dwelling

/234 cont./

226
• [462] of several families, the maloca, the small-scale fishing still falls to the men, and they go out in groups of two or three or even alone, or accompanied by some child, perhaps very young, who rows and handles the canoe. All of the Indian's concern is to make his son a very good fisherman, a marupiára. "Mõ'sigõ" is the Tukano term for indicating the individual who is lucky in fishing and hunting.

There arrives, however, the piracema, the period when the fish gather in schools, waĩ tũrĩrõ, especially in the cachoeiras, trying to get past them in order to reach the headwaters. It is the opportunity for the Indian to prepare his reserves of fish for the fruitless days. It is the period of large-scale fishing. Or also, low water comes, and the fish that went up the igarapés and igapós (64)

64. Igarapés are the small tributaries of the rivers; igapós are the arms of water or pools that are formed during high water.

will try to reach the river; this is also the time of joint fishing expeditions. These represent a social event that brings together the inhabitants of the maloca or povoado. Even more, it is a collective entertainment or sport, a time of celebration. If the distance to the fishing place is great, as it often is, they will stay overnight there for several days, and in this case they must take their hammocks. Not infrequently they improvise tapirís or huts in the surroundings conveniently beforehand. The women will prepare the beijú and the flour. The men will take care of the nets and see that the canoes are in good condition. The complete preparation includes, besides the fishing gear, the panniers in which to keep the fish, the fire, etc.

/245/

224 373 During low water they also go hunting at night, drifting slowly and without making any noise, while one of the Indians brings a torch of turí. They thus surprise the pacas, which are blinded by the light, and the Indian kills them with arrows. [177] Nowadays they use a battery flashlight for night hunting.

6) Agriculture.

241 The mandioca is what provides the principal food of the Indians of the basin of the Uaupés. All these tribes are thus found in the phase of tillage, which is practiced, however, in a very primitive manner: it is the phase of the "cavouco" /digging, pit, hollow/ or of the "cova" /hole/.

They freely choose the land that pleases them the most, because of the proximity of their dwelling and because of the guarantee against theft (75),

> 75. For this reason he will not do it at the edge of the river, unless it is beside his dwelling. If it is in the vicinity of the river, he will always leave a wedge of forest between the clearing and the river, in order to hide it from the view of those who are traveling on the water. And the landing place where he disembarks and ties his canoe will be at a certain distance from the clearing, in order not to reveal its location.

and which is a little sandy, as the "terras-firmes" of the entire region generally are, and suitable for mandioca. The act of * [423] [192] clearing, wexsé pá:kũrõ, is what gives them the ownership of the land while cultivating it.

• [462] Clearing is done in the periods of less rain, that is, from June to August and from December to February. It is work exclusively for the men. They start by choosing an area con- * [192] venient as to distance and not subject to floods, with yellowish soil, semisandy, di'tá sõarã, or black and somewhat humous, nãxkã di'tá ñyĩrõ.

/246 cont./

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After the operation of burning or the coivara, one proceeds with a rough cleaning, o'asé, removing to the sides one or another trunk and branch that might be on the ground.

• [462]

Now begins the planting, which is reserved for the women, that is, the wife assisted by her daughters or women who live with her. Since this work might take a long time, if the clearing is very far from the house the man builds there a small hut or papirí, in Tukano wi'ykĩ-pama. This is four stakes supporting a straw covering. His family will stay there during the cleaning and the planting. This is done, even today, in the simplest way, called wexsé bu'bé, with the help of the digging stick; that is, after a rainfall, when the ground is still soft, a hole is made in the ground with a pointed stick (more rarely, today, with a digging iron), sérí-phĩ, a maniva (branch of manioc) is introduced obliquely, and a small heap of earth is piled up around it.

Nowadays, they plant in their clearings besides mandioca, joints of cane (saccharum officinale), shoots of the banana tree (Musa), of carás /Dioscorea/, of sweet potato (hypomoea batata), of pineapple (ananas satíva), seeds of papaya (papáya cárica). Ordinarily they do not plant all the cleared area at only one time, but in two stages or two clearings a year, in the two proper times; it is what they call dexkó bu'besé, half a planting. The planting is done in disorder, the /247/ shoots very close together and without a passage. For this reason, and also because of the impoverishment of the soil, the return is always scanty. Ordinarily they do not pull up mandioca for flour until after a year. The weeds that grow are pulled out by hand, taá kuresé, by the women. The woman will spend several hours a day in the clearing with her children and, upon returning, will carry on her back an aturá of mandioca, a bundle of wood for the fire, and a child or two hanging on at her waist.

[462]
[857]

4: Silva--399 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/Illustrations facing p. 273 in the original source./

142
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From early childhood the little girls are used to chores (manner of carrying the py:)

One of the feminine occupations

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842 /385 cont./
847 and use contraceptive and abortive methods. Their own mother
848 (or mother-in-law when it is a matter of a newlywed) will teach these methods.

The illegitimate son is called Ko-boxkáko (literally it means
848 "found by her or hers"; in the feminine Ko-boxkáko), and it does
*[192] not constitute an obstacle to marriage for the unwed mother (111)

> 111. In Pari-cachoeira in April of 1954, we were able to see a young Tukano woman (later married to a Desana of Iraiti, river Tiquié) carrying an illegitimate child from her relations with a young Tuyuka man, who at Easter of this year married a young Tukano woman from Pari-cachoeira.

or create a problem for the married mother (112).

> 112. With the greatest ease, Maria Gama, a young Ipeka woman of Urubucuara, speaking to us about her family, told us about having a younger ko-boxkáko brother.

581 It is considered shameful to have children at once in the
842 first year of marriage, Pe. Humberto Limpens of Acuaricuara,
183 river Paca, informed us. They want children only two or three years after the marriage, and this is also the interval between
[797] children. A demonstration that this is artificial is given by the good Christian mother, alumna of the Mission, with successive children and at once from the first year. One understands the
• [462] difficulty of the native mother who, besides the care and nursing of the child, is pressed with the work of the house and of the clearing, if she does not have the help of older daughters.

/419 cont./

551 /footnote 24 cont./ identified with such a person (or object). To pronounce this name is to render present that person or sacred object, which is not licit (religious taboo, properly speaking). Or to pronounce the name of a person (for example, that of one's own husband, among tribes of southern India -- cf. Gordon, o. c. 132) will make him die (it is the magic taboo).

551 They will simply say to identify her: -- "The wife of such-and-
593 such a person" or "The mother of such-and-such a person." The
*[192] husband will use this expression: "Yõ põrá-kó," "the mother of my children," or "the one who gives me children," or "the mother of N" and says the name of the oldest child.

• 462 Her tasks are constant, heavy, and of great responsibility. Perhaps in a precarious state of health, for example, during gestation and the delivery, even so, she does them perfectly, without complaining, because they are tribal regulations, therefore they come from a superior will (25).

[593] [123] 25. If, in front of the husband, we purposely show surprise at her great tasks, the woman smiles and says nothing.

[241] The planting and the cleaning of the clearing fall to her. She
*[192] will spend whole hours in the sun amid the fire and the smoke, preparing the piles of branches to be burned, digging and burying the mandioca shoots, cleaning the clearing by the process of pulling out the weeds by hand, Taá kuresé. She is the one who pulls
[252] the mandioca, collects it in the aturás /carrying baskets/, and brings it home, where, afterwards, she peels it, grates it, squeezes it, and strains it, in order to make flour. It is she who prepares the foods and the caxiris, takes care of the house and of the rearing of the children. All this while the husband perhaps is idle in

/419 cont./

462 conversation with other men for long hours (26).

[517] 26. At other times she might be gaily conversing while the man is working.

611 She is a foreigner, without any right over her children. They
736 belong to the husband, or rather to the tribe of the husband. If by chance she becomes a widow, she may continue to live in the maloca, and she will ordinarily do so, especially if she is aged and cannot expect another marriage. Or she will return to her tribe, without, however, taking the children with her. With the hypothesis that her husband had a separate house or one in the vicinity of another tribe, the relatives from the husband's tribe will come to take the orphans to their own maloca. If any of the orphans are still /420/ babies at the breast, perhaps they will await until the child can dispense with maternal care, and then they will irrevocably take them away.

587 When it was a matter of her marrying, an exchange or indemnification was negotiated, without her being consulted. Upon establishing her new home, she had the customary test of a beating, and perhaps, due to the bad character of the husband, many others might follow, against which she could never react. Accord-
264 ing to the tribal customs, she will never eat with the husband; she
593 takes out her portion and it is only after he and his friends and guests are satisfied and leave the place that she will take her food.

462 All this causes surprise, especially if we observe the importance of her "atelier"; that is, it is she who performs the tasks necessary for life: she plants the clearing, works with the mandioca, which constitutes the indispensable daily dish, weaves the hammocks for sleeping, makes the vessels for water, prepares the caxiris and the cooking.

593 We leave, Deo volente, for a monograph the study of the indications of a matriarchalist civilization among the Uaupesina tribes. For now we shall say, with the students who have

/420 cont./

593 passed through this region, that to the husband fall the honor and the responsibility of head of the family group. Concerning
• 462 the tasks, however, more attentive observation will attenuate the
593 impression of the woman's inferiority.

In reality there is a division of labor between the man and the woman, established by the customs. The concepts of importance and gravity, weight and responsibility of these tasks cannot be considered according to the criteria of our culture, but, indeed, of the native mentality.

As the ancient impositions that they are, perhaps they were easier to understand formerly than today, because of the change in the circumstances. At present they are still observed with great strictness, due to the spirit of attachment to the traditions, characteristic of the natives, although the present conditions might counsel a new revision of the customs and a different distribution of the tasks.

It is understandable that the husband, in more difficult times of fighting between the groups or against animals, should always have been in a physical condition to be able to do it and to have available the necessary time, without his family lacking anything because of it. Hence the convenience of having these urgent daily chores assigned to the woman. This also provides, besides the indispensable rest, the physical robustness of the male, who, at given times, would be subjected to difficult tests.

This observation makes us understand the division of labor better. Those tasks that require dexterity, courage, and, up to a certain /421/ point, physical strength belong to the husband. It is the men who select, cut, and transport trunks, beams, poles, and palms for the construction of the residence, as well as performing all the work of building the house of residence and other auxiliary huts. Moreover, the making of barriers in the rivers, with thick trunks, for the large-scale fishing falls to the man. To him, the hunting, exclusively, and in large part the fishing, to which the women are only admitted as helpers. Previously the

/421 cont./

•462 593 man manufactured weapons and implements for one thing and another: canoe, baskets, nets, bows, arrows, traps, etc. In the clearing there fell to him the preliminary work of choosing the spot and felling the trees. The defense of the clearing against the harmful animals or other persons is also his duty. Of the domestic utensils he is the one who manufactures the tipití /manioc press/, hampers, and strainers for the treatment of the mandioca, as well as the little seats. As for the diet, he is the one who supplies the game, fish, and who brings the fruits from the forest for the caxirís. And he has prepared the ornaments and the musical instruments for the social and religious manifestations. Recognizing, then, the great weight of work that falls upon the woman for the maintenance of the family, we think that it alone does not demonstrate an inferior position for the woman.

593 [583] The Põáperi, in itself, is not a depreciation of the woman, as we have already noted. The nuptial gifts, more than the dowry of the European customs, properly represent a valorization of the wife. She is really considered greatly useful, not only under the aspect of maternity, so desired and appreciated, since the Indian wishes to have children, but even in the economic one.

[551] As for not knowing the wife's name and the ways of referring to her, they do not seem to be indicators of inferiority. She came from another tribe and another language, perhaps a strange name. In any case they are not accustomed to calling anyone by name, as we shall see. In general, in referring to the wife, the husband uses the expression: -- "The mother of N" and says the name of the first-born child, and this seems to be an affectionate association. She will also say of the husband: "The father of N," which, on her lips, has a particular meaning, as affirmation that it is a legitimate child.

[611] As for the children, this affirmation is of value: the children belong to the tribe more than to the parents. Both the wife and the husband exert little authority over the children, since they are raised with great autonomy. Perhaps she has an ascendancy even greater than the husband, because, at least when they are small, they are exclusively in her care, and they go so far as to learn her idiom.

/424 cont./

562 This moral decadence is not likely to generate in the masculine mind respect (as in fact there is none) for the woman, be she his sister, his wife, or his mother. Any woman represents for them only a worker for the daily tasks and an instrument of very cheap and common pleasures.

The woman senses this real situation, and the more prodigal she is, out of intimate impulses, out of obedience to the customs, because of a desire to please, or out of fear of punishment, the more she is degraded in her own eyes.

The habit of considering situations, rare or none at all, the busy life of work and feasts that she leads, the knowledge that the situation of every woman is identical and that it is a matter of a fact not susceptible to change, because created by the inviolable laws of the tribe, somewhat mitigate her suffering, almost producing conformity and acceptance of this state of things.

When one of them comes into contact with the civilized, however, she gets an idea of a better situation for the woman, she perhaps hears appeals for virtue and her own improvement, she then starts to evaluate the state of decadence of the Indian woman, and she exclaims sorrowfully: "the woman is not worth anything."

9) Division of labor.

462 There is in force among the tribes of the Uaupés a strict division of labor, such that those of one sex will not do the tasks /425/ designated for those of the other one (32).

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32. This statement holds, without any doubt, for the traditional tasks and for the natives with little or no contact with civilization. In the acculturation that is in process, this concept of division of occupations is beginning to evolve. With all naturalness nowadays a young man serves as cook for the civilized. It is very common, likewise, to see a man wash his own clothes, as well as to fit a carrying basket on his back, as the women do, in order to transport a load for the whites.

/425 cont./

462 It is likewise to be noted that, although one task might complement the other, they do not perform them together, but one sex will do its part before or after the other one.

1. It falls to the man: to build his own house and to provide all the material involved in the construction;
the choice of the terrain for the clearing, felling the trees and the burning;
the hunting and fishing;
the preparation of the weapons (bow, arrows, sarabatana /blow-gun/);
the making of the tipití /manioc press/, hampers, and strainers for the preparation of the foods made out of mandioca;
the preparation of the grater (33);

33. We saw on the Içana that the preparation of the plank for the grater fell to the man, and the incrustation of the small stones to the woman.

the making of the dance ornaments and musical instruments;
the manufacturing of the fishing nets and baskets and the traps;
the making of the trocano /signal drum/ and of the caxirí tubs;
the collecting of arumã and the gathering of the splints for the making of the basketry, of the leaves for the extraction of the tucum fibers; as well as of the clay for pottery;
the collecting of the poisonous plants and their preparation for fishing.

2. It falls to the woman: to plant and clean the clearing and the harvesting of the mandioca;
the cleaning of the ground adjacent to the maloca;
to carry the aturá /carrying basket/ with the load;
to make and to fire the pottery;
to manufacture the hammocks for sleeping;
to perform the domestic services (to light the fire, to prepare the food, to bring the water, the firewood, to carry the children, to look for lice, etc.).

/436 cont./

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/footnote 57 cont./ teach or perhaps the daughter does not want to learn. It is a fact that we verified many times: the daughters do not know everything that their mother knows and does.

By preparing their small bows and arrows for amusement or by watching the men work, and sometimes by helping them spontaneously, the boys also become skilled in the different masculine tasks (58).

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[797]

58. Never, however, in the feminine ones. They used to laugh in the beginning, Pe. João Marchesi told us, when they saw the Missionary light the fire and prepare his own food, because "it is woman's work." Nowadays one already sees a man of the younger generation, who went through the Mission schools, carrying one of his small children, while the wife is loaded with an aturá on her back or other great burdens.

It is all an intuitive process of apprenticeship, arousing the interest of the children, developing the capacity for imitation that they possess, deeply rooted, in an environment of freedom, happiness, and well-being. A conjunction, finally, of conditions in accord with the native psyche, and, for this reason, assurers of a happy result. Not infrequently the young men become more skilled than their own fathers.

476 There are many tasks that they perform collectively, or at least with the help of others, such as felling trees, cleaning the clearing, building houses, making the canoes. These are done with the display of a greater cheerfulness and emulation, which favor the growth of love of the work and of doing it nicely.

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532 Just as there is no indication of clan totemism, there is none of individual or personal totemism either. The objects that they make do not represent animals; they are of simple workmanship, according to the purpose. In some quite rare cases the paintings of the walls are anthropomorphic; they seem, however, to have only a sportive character. /Page 478 is blank./

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Chapter IX

The Life of the Indian

1) Daily cycle.

512 The type and the standard of life of the Indian seem patterned. Even in distinct tribes we find the Indians doing the same things in the same way, and even with a very close timetable. It is indeed a very methodical life, not, however, monotonous. On the contrary, quite varied, in a perfect nature in which daily rest, work, meals, baths, physical exercises succeed one another.

[592] "The Tukano lives in the maloca, which serves him as bedroom, kitchen, dining room in the morning and in the afternoon. The maloca is, in succession, laboratory for the domestic chores, meeting place at times of rain, and ballroom during the great feasts. It is the place where the Tukano lives, dies, and is buried. For the Tukano the maloca is the world" (Report by the First Superior of the Salesian Missions of the Rio Negro, Mons. Lourenço Giordano -- Boletim Salesiano -- Feb. 1918, p. 31).

The ordinary family life can be summarized in this way: the Indian sleeps little, eats much, talks a great deal, works when it is necessary.

From three o'clock in the morning, the maloca still closed, one hears inside quite an animated conversation, noisy and frequent laughs. And many times the noise of the graters at work: it is the women who are preparing the mandioca for the beijú. Before five o'clock, with rain or without it, always dark in those latitudes, the women leave through the back door, individually

[462] [252] [515]

/480 cont./

512 with the beijú or in small cuias, like a spoon. At the end, the
*[192] woman presents a large cuia with Ñõxká (manicuera /drink made
[264] out of manioc juice/) or the Po'ká peosé (the chibé /manioc flour
and water/ of generalized use on the Amazon). Like our coffee,
they thus ordinarily end their meals with the indispensable chibé,
of which as much as is wanted is taken, the cuia then being passed
to the neighbor on the right. Finally the women and children
simultaneously take their food.

The noisy exodus for work starts: it might perhaps be seven
or eight o'clock. The men and women leave in groups. The
former for the forest, for hunting, to procure textile fibers, wood
for building, or to search for fruits, or for the river, with the proper
equipment for fishing or in order to prepare the traps.

*[192] The women with the older daughters and the children (small
[241] ones) go to the clearing, taking the Pi'í (aturá), hanging from the
forehead on the back, in order to carry mandioca and firewood.
In order to reach the field they almost always have to take the
canoe, and for this reason they leave with oars of different sizes,
some quite small for the children. Some old or sick person (many
times nobody) will stay as guard of the deserted and silent maloca.

•[462] The work will last until after eleven o'clock. Around one
[854] o'clock the maloca starts to become animated again. The women
arrive with their aturás filled with mandioca and, on top, bundles
of firewood: the smaller children on their hips or held in front of
the chest, and others holding on to their skirt. They are perspiring,
with the face flushed, if they did not /481/ touch it with carajurú
/carajura/, as a precaution, in order not to suffer so much from
the heat of the sun. Little by little the men also begin to arrive
with the results of their labor: fruits, fish, game, or fibers and
timber.

Another bath will come, with its freshness, to renew their
well-being. The woman will grill the fish or the game, will pre-
pare fresh, tasty beijú, the quinhapira, the mingau, some insect,
*[192] and the chibé. Soon will come the "Baãra a'tyá" and the after-
noon meal.

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121 everywhere narcotics and excitants, stimulants and vision-producing drugs are valued for their ritual effects.

No common psychological pattern, to be sure, encompasses the area. Yet the Cubeo ritual pattern, with its exaltation of intoxication and of frenzied emotional experience, is far from uncommon in the tropical forest. In religion the Amazon Basin is a region of the shaman and of minor cults rather than of priests and of the worship of important deities. Tropical forest religion is small in scale, a feature that is parallel to and assuredly related to the decentralization of social life.

Compared with the Andes, tropical forest communities by and large are small. In many regions community size is unduly small because of severe population decline since white contact. In the Northwest Amazon, the subarea of the Cubeo, the multifamily single house is the common residence. The sense of family and of kinship are very strong, making of religion and ritual largely domestic affairs, with cults of the dead and initiation rites of outstanding importance. Considering the importance of crops, horticultural ritual is strikingly undeveloped. Here we can point to a fruitful field for the study of the commonly accepted functionalist doctrine that magic and religious ritual tend to surround areas of uncertainty such as farming. [241] [796] [462] In the case of the Cubeo one can state with confidence that the lack of rite in farming is related to the strongly secular position of the women as horticulturists and not to the lack of hazard in farming. Manioc cultivation is no less uncertain than yam cultivation in the Trobriand Islands. Uncertainty, after all, is not necessarily an objective condition. Existence is uncertain for all peoples and each society has the choice of underscoring those areas of life where it believes the fears and uncertainties to lie. Since the tropical forest is one of the major world areas of the *couvade*, the rites by which the father plays a part in parturition, it might seem as though it were the fate of the newborn infant more than the fate of the crops that is at the heart of their concern.

There is the fundamental question of the relation of the tropical forest to the "high" cultures of South and of Central America. On this there is still not much to say. Yet the problem of relationship cannot be ignored. One cannot divide lowland and highland into totally distinct and unrelated worlds. The archeology of the lower Amazon calls attention to cultural developments either related to or parallel to the marginal areas of the Andes. Highland and lowland share many traits such as maize, chicha, coca, textiles, and complex basketry. The jaguar "cult" of the Northwest Amazon may well be

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Cubeo do not themselves make this identification. The outermost zone, that of manioc cultivation, is largely a female province. Men make the clearing, but women work in the gardens. A woman's garden is virtually her private domain. A man enters it upon a woman's invitation. A husband goes there to help with some heavy task or for casual sexual intercourse. There is extra spice to marital coitus in the garden because it is the traditional place for adultery and so the Indians associate it with licentious passion. Men do not ordinarily wander over to the manioc gardens. When I wanted to see the women at work in their gardens I was not free to go without an escort, who was usually the husband himself or sometimes the headman. In the latter case, the headman courteously informed the husband, and everyone else if the husband was away. Frequent visiting was definitely discouraged. Women could not help but attribute sexual significance to a man's visit and would deride the notion that a man was interested in watching them farm.

This outer zone, then, has a decided sexual connotation that is both erotic and social. Women give birth in their manioc gardens and during male cult ceremonies they may take shelter in the gardens. Nursing babies are brought to the manioc gardens regardless of sex, but from walking age on, no boy will think of playing in the vicinity of the gardens. Manioc is a strictly secular crop for which there are no rites, despite its overwhelming nutritive importance and the usual hazards of cultivation.

From the sexual point of view, the zone of secondary cultivation is a mixed one. Secondary crops include sugar cane, tobacco, *mihi* (kaapi, a vision-inducing narcotic), coca, calabash, gourd, squash, melons, yams, sweet potatoes, and sometimes maize. There are also cultivated trees – orange, lemon, pupunha (*Guilielma speciosa*), pineapple, plantain, and banana. Men exclusively cultivate tobacco, *mihi*, and coca, women exclusively cultivate bitter manioc; all other plantings are mixed. If a plant, onions, for example, is taken from the whites and the Indians have seen a white man grow it, they then regard it as a proper male cultivation. Maize is an old crop that belongs to women but not all communities grow it. Among the *Bahikiwa* and its neighboring subsibs no maize was planted.[3] This

[3] When Koch Grünberg was on the Cuduiari, in 1903, he observed that the upriver communities grew only maize and no manioc. For bitter manioc, he said, they came to the lower Cuduiari communities (1909, II, 8n). During my survey of the river I found no community without manioc. On the other hand, maize, which had already begun to disappear in the time of Koch-Grünberg, had become quite scarce and no longer entered into the regular diet. On certain ceremonial occasions it was made up into tortillas. Mainly it was used in native beer and as

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secondary zone produces supplemental crops only. Gourd provides household dishes, while tobacco, *mihí*, and coca are for ceremonial purposes.

The plaza consists of two clear spaces, a front plaza that is at the entrance to the house, and a rear plaza that is an extension of the kitchen area. The front plaza is a ceremonial site. It serves for the staging of dance formations and is a gathering place of the men.

Ideally, a front plaza is large, clear, and clean. Its appearance speaks for the quality of the house, for its prosperity, for its high morale, and for the excellence of its headman. It is the headman who will insist that the plaza be kept clean. Women are not barred from the front plaza, but it is definitely a male zone with sacred connotations. The medicine man does his curing on the front plaza. By contrast, the rear plaza is a female zone and is secular. It is often littered with the debris of past meals and abandoned and broken household utensils, shards, and frayed basketry. The women assemble here for their own gossip. During important ceremonies, when the sexual demarcation is accentuated for ritual purposes, it is the rear plaza where women guests are received. The rear plaza is demarcated even when the house is still a mere skeleton under construction. A visitor then may have no obvious clue as to which is front and which is back. If he should make an approach by way of the rear plaza he will not be received until he realizes his error and comes around to the front. In just such a situation I have seen the occupants of a house ignore a guest who made this *gaffe*. When he did recover and came around to the front he was received with as much formality at the bare frame of the house as he would have after it had been fully completed.

Finally, the river. The river is sacred to the sib, and is in that sense a male zone. Men fish in the river and hunt along its shores. They hide the sacred ancestral trumpets along the shore and bathe to the music of the trumpets before dawn to receive strength from the ancestors. Ordinary connubial coitus takes place well before dawn at the river's edge, where chances for conception are considered to be better. Again, to call the river a male zone is not to say that it is restricted against women. Women have access to the river for bathing and for washing. But it is not their domain.

During the early part of the day, from just after sunrise until the high heat of the early afternoon, a community gives the appearance of being altogether deserted, or, if the men are not hunting or fishing that day, it appears to be an all-male community. The men are then

chicken feed. The *Bahúkiwa*, cited by Koch-Grünberg as maize growers, had no tradition of having cultivated anything but bitter manioc as their principal crop.

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501 against the gunwale to set the rhythm. Frequent changes of stroke
516 are common. In pulling away, the first stroke is slow and strong. This is followed by a brief pause, the blade just out of the water, the stem resting against the gunwale. The helmsman, who steers with a broader-bladed paddle, uses powerful slow strokes that are one to two or three to those of the prowsman. When inertia has been overcome the stroke is accelerated, often to a furious tempo. The oarsman's back bends lower and his stroke is sharp, fast, and shallow. A fast beat is not kept up for long. The paddlers rest, permitting the canoe to continue on its own momentum. Unless exhausted from a long trip the mood of men in a canoe is gay. They burst into spontaneous shouts of *he ee ee*, sing, and joke loudly. Each passing bird is addressed, as "Where are you going?" With the paddle held as a gun they aim at the bird, pretend to shoot, and shout, "Now he is dead!" On one occasion we chased a covey of herons downstream for about two hours for amusement. The birds followed the river course, flying some 100 yards before settling on a branch. Striking paddles against the canoe and beating an empty gasoline tin, we drove the birds to the communities. The Indians shouted, "We sent you herons, why didn't you shoot them?"

[461] [501] [461] [501] [517] [123]

501 The most important canoe positions are those of stroke and of
462 steersman. A woman traveling with men always steers, the lighter work. She may even nurse her child while steering. Among boys, each wants to be a steersman because it is easy. When the people are in no hurry canoe positions are informally assigned; children then occupy the stroke position, in a large canoe sitting side by side. They also steer. On a long journey the prowsman or stroke is always the strongest man, while a woman, or the oldest or weakest man, is at the helm. Intermediate positions are filled by considerations of balance, each canoe known for its own balance characteristics.

[857]

502 All the Indians know the river and its currents. Downstream the
[823] canoe is piloted along the currents that sweep out from creeks, calling for frequent crossovers; the center of the river is usually avoided because of the sun, the Indians preferring the shade of the shoreline. Going upstream the canoe hugs the shore and in rapid currents the men pull it along by seizing creepers. During low water, punting poles replace paddles, and sometimes the riders get out and push. High water offers cuts through the forest. I have timed these short cuts against the regular passage downstream and found that there is no actual saving. Threading through jungle lagoons in a large canoe is time-consuming, but is less monotonous and tiring than the direct passage. These passages lead often through dense brush that

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773 From *Kíwaí*, the culture-hero, the people learned how to fish with
226 hook and line and how to hunt with bow and arrow and with the
224 blowgun. The Indians say that in ancient times they did not hunt the
[177] tapir. It was not until they acquired guns that they learned how to
[411] kill tapir. Other animals they did not eat because of religious taboos
that are no longer in force. Paca and armadillo were devourers of
262 human corpses and were hence forbidden; eating sloth would make
[614] people lazy; and finally, all animals whose names were represented
in the sib genealogies were taboo to members of that sib.

PRODUCTION

261 The Cubeo do not value abundance of food for its own sake.
433 Plenty is, to be sure, widely enjoyed as a break in the daily routine.
It is not valued for its promise of satiety, for the Indians customarily
eat moderately, but for the opportunity it offers for a gay feast. A big
catch of game or of fish excites the people because it does not occur
[251] often. There is no desire to overdo, however, and no more is brought
than will be consumed directly or can be safely preserved by smoking
[554] and drying. Since, at best, smoking preserves meat for only a week or
[614] two in the tropical climate there is not much point in increasing
[574] a fisherman's or a hunter's "take." Social status is a minor issue in
food production since feasting is essentially intrasib, whereas social
status comes into play most sharply between sibs.

433 In short, there are no strong motives to stimulate hunting and fish-
ing other than appetite and desire for variety. The pressure in pro-
duction falls upon the women. If we are to speak of "surplus" at all in
244 Cubeo food production it can be only in connection with the manioc
433 crop, which is regarded as the woman's contribution, even though it
is the men who make the clearing. The limiting factor in manioc pro-
[462] duction is not land as much as it is labor and morale. A large com-
munity under a forceful headman can clear a good deal more land
than is needed for subsistence. In the case of manioc, subsistence can
244 be measured precisely by the amount that is converted directly to
433 manioc cake (*duno*) and to tapioca porridge. "Surplus" is what is
252 converted to chicha (*unkúndye*) and to farinha. There can be no
[177] doubt but that the machete, now universal in the region, improved
[412] the standard of nourishment considerably. The real limitation upon
production is woman power. Since women carry through all phases
[462] of manioc production, from planting and harvesting to conversion
into the final product, they are the ultimate "bottleneck." A woman
working only to prepare manioc as food is already fully occupied.

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To produce farinha, which is mainly for trade, and chicha, which is mainly for sociability, she draws upon what is normally her "spare" time. She gives up the evening hours of rest, moments of gossip, play with her breast baby, and food foraging in the brush, which she regards as a pleasant diversion from the back-breaking manioc routine.

A Cubeo woman cannot be coerced to work any more than a man can be. Her willingness to work hard depends, in the case of a married woman, upon her regard for her husband in the first place, but also upon her general relations with the community at large. The Cubeo know that a lazy woman is a disaffected woman and they are conscious, accordingly, of the social importance of marital felicity. The only control the community has over a domestic situation is by maintaining a generally high level of good feeling. Needless to say, Cubeo women are not and do not consider themselves to be abused. A woman who does not care for her husband will leave him or, if her laziness is deep-seated and represents a grievance against the community as a whole, she will urge her husband to leave with her. The fact is, the feeling against indolence or apathy toward work is so strong that even a thick-skinned person can sense the unvoiced community disapproval. Thus, in the absence of strong political authority the productivity of a Cubeo community depends in the main upon all of the subtle factors of kinship, sexual attractiveness, and satisfaction, and of public morale. An unproductive community is normally not underprivileged by virtue of location or of tools but simply by its own lack of social health.

FISHING

Fish are abundant and there is hardly a day when fish are not part of the diet. The basic Cubeo meal consists of manioc cake and fish. Every male, from puberty to the grave, is a fisherman. Fishing is the regular masculine routine. Most fishing is individual – a man sometimes accompanied by a young son in a small canoe fishing with hook and line, or a man (also accompanied by a young son) fishing in shallows with bow and arrow. An Indian fishes his own stretch of river at a preferred place. If a man wishes to join another at the same place there is no quarrel, since fishing is never competitive. There is some rivalrous display of a catch but only a good-humored kind. Unlike gardening, which follows a rigid routine, fishing is flexible; a man follows his hunches and preferences, the seasons, and the species of fish and their habits. Some fishing is by torchlight, at night. The men do not necessarily leave for the river at the same time,

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226 554 Yet a leader of a fishing party may, indeed, ask an elder to come along as an expert. The fact is that expertness is very casually shared, as each fisherman narrates at the end of a day what he accomplished and how he accomplished it.

226 796 [251] [417] [614] [237] After a great catch, fish are dried and smoked for several days on wooden racks set up outside the house. The entire sib gathers, each man selects a dried fish, mounts it on a stick, and dances with it. The dancers wear a headdress of splints that is shaped to resemble a fish basket and is called *nyukáro*, and also carry dance staffs decorated with feathers of the great fishing birds, the heron and the river eagle. They sing songs (*máopwa*) honoring the fish. There may be as many as four or five such festivals during the course of the year. I was [114] told the greatest come when the winter rains have stopped. After the dance they feast on the fish. Curiously, I never witnessed this fish festival, called simply *upaüeteno* (festival). The Indians explained that they only have the festival when they are in the mood. The dance is not intended to increase the supply of fish.

226 484 Not all communities were as well situated for fishing as were those of the Cuduiarí, a well-stocked stream. Other tribes in the area often used distant streams, camping out for long periods of time, living on fish and preserving some of the catch for use at home. Koch-Grünberg, in his travels, encountered many Indians far from home, fishing strange streams (1909, II, 27 ff.). On the Cuduiarí the problem of 226 shortage was felt mainly by the upstream communities at the very 484 bottom of the dry season. These people, however, were then free 574 to fish along unoccupied stretches of the Cuduiarí, camping out or 602 accepting the hospitality of phratry mates for fishing sites and for shelter. If they went to another stream it was generally to the sites of in-laws, where they also had hospitality rights. Thus, kinship, including the affinal and the maternal ties, provides a completely reliable mechanism for interchange of territorial resources.

HUNTING

224 [462] Hunting is a secondary masculine pursuit. Whereas every adult male is a fisherman not all are hunters. Hunting attracts naturally the most vigorous age groups, men in their late teens to about 30, [178] although there are no age restrictions that would bar an old man from joining a hunting party. Hunting may have been more prominent in the past, when only native weapons, spears and blowguns using [177] curare-tipped darts, were fashionable. Today the Indians hunt with muzzle-loading shotguns that only a few possess because of the ex-

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He brings home the hide for a trophy, for which there is no further use, but the teeth form a girdle that is a mark of high status. Jaguar hunting is strictly voluntary and is not a formal test of manhood. During my stay among the *Bahúkiwa* the headman's son — an aspirant for the position — killed a jaguar with a steel-tipped lance and accepted modestly the moderate acclaim of the community. His explanation was that he wanted to experience what it was like to kill a jaguar.

GARDENING

I have no statistical means for comparing the relative contributions of men and women to the food supply. The general rule is that men provide the bulk of the protein, women the bulk of the carbohydrates.

The Cubeo unhesitatingly regard the man as economically most important. This is surprising, since manioc in its multiple uses as food, chicha, and trade goods is not only the staff of life but the source of intrasib activity, status, and general well-being. My informants pointed out, however, that it is fish which is the important food, and besides, they added, it is the men who make the manioc clearing. Nutritionally they are right. Bitter manioc is a poor food, rich in starch and deficient in protein.

An important distinction between the labor of men and women is in the nature of their economic effort. That of the woman borders on drudgery. Hers is the steady routine of planting, harvesting, washing, scraping, grinding, operating the tipiti press, and, finally, forming the manioc cake and baking it.

On days when only subsistence manioc — that is, the manioc cake — is to be baked, a woman devotes half of all the daylight hours to its preparation, including time in the garden. Her preferred routine is to spend six hours on alternate days in gardening. On the day she gardens, she also spends two or more additional hours in processing the roots. On the second day, however, she works only four hours on manioc. She spends, on the average, 12 hours on manioc over a two-day period. If to this is added hours spent in preparing chicha and farinha, the annual average comes close to nine hours a day. By contrast, men's labor is more flexible in its demand upon time and the quality of effort. However, it would be erroneous to overstress the distinction. There is, after all, variety in the manioc cycle as well.

Women customarily go to their manioc gardens at the same time, leaving the maloca an hour or so after daybreak and after breakfast. Each smears her face with red pigment both as ointment against sunburn and as preventive magic against the jaguar. A woman is

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usually accompanied by an unmarried daughter, who is both helper and chaperon, a dog, and her breast baby. Her equipment is a machete (in the past it was a digging stick), a portage basket, and a tray upon which she rests her baby. 244 [412] [178] [415]

With the machete she cuts the long root at the base of a mature manioc plant and then loosens the earth so as to pull out the cluster of tubers. Each root yields an average of six tubers, two of which are large, two medium, and two small. This phase of the work is difficult but the woman moves quickly and silently. She does not sing at her work. Her daughter, assistant and apprentice, tears each tuber from the root, scrapes it clear of earth, and drops it in the basket. When a basket has been filled the woman gathers up the stems of the manioc plant, trims them of their leaves, and stacks the cuttings neatly in small heaps. She burns the leaves to add ash to the soil. She does not replant the cuttings immediately, but allows them to lie for several days. After an accumulation a woman devotes a morning to replanting. She breaks up the soil of the segment she has harvested and forms it into small mounds, into each of which she puts a number of trimmed cuttings, setting them in at a sharp angle. She works segments of garden that are about 25 yards square. After replanting, the earliest harvest will be after half a year, but full maturity takes two years. Each 25-square-yard segment yields from 50 to 60 pounds of manioc, or one basket load. [461]

Among the *Bahúkiwa*, for whom I have productivity figures, the household of the headman harvested 400 baskets of manioc annually. Another household that had three adult women harvested 500. One old woman had a minimum yield of 150 and all other households averaged close to 200. Ten households produced 2,550 baskets, or some 75 tons of manioc a year. A basket of manioc converts into two large manioc cakes. In the headman's household of seven people three cakes were eaten every two days, leaving a "surplus" of close to 30 per cent for use as chicha and as farinha. On the other hand, households producing 200 baskets annually are close to the subsistence line. 244 433

The point of this digression into production figures has been to show how exigent are the demands upon the woman's labor. The women feel that they cannot afford to interrupt their labors or they will fall behind. Nevertheless, childbirth, illness, ceremonies – women do not garden on the day of a ceremony – and the press of other activities such as accompanying men on prolonged trips for hunting (in the nature of a respite for a woman) take their toll of labor time. Women do not complain of having too much to do. On the contrary, I have heard the grievance that the manioc garden is too small. 244 433 461 462

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244 433 [462] A woman is proud of two aspects of her work in gardening: total productivity and the quality of her manioc cake. Productivity reflects favorably upon her own efforts and, even more important, upon the efforts of her husband, who makes the clearing. The quality of manioc cake depends upon the quality of the tubers and upon the variety of manioc cultivated. Women are knowledgeable about manioc. They 244 242 [571] are familiar with many varieties, their food qualities as well as their characteristics of growth. They are experimental as well. When women from different communities meet, they talk about manioc farming, exchange information, and very often exchange cuttings. Thus, a garden includes five or six varieties of manioc. The *Bahúkiwa* cultivated eight varieties, one of which, a yellow variety, they had obtained from Indians on the Amazon below Manaos. Like any good farmer, a woman in the course of time eliminates poor strains for [252] better ones. Many women have personal recipes for a manioc cake 244 blended from several varieties of tuber. Gardening, being a woman's 462 domain, is a totally secular activity. If crops grow poorly the women

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Fig. 3. Preparing manioc.

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place the blame upon the material conditions. The woman, then, is more than a mere toiler in the garden. She qualifies as agronomist as well.

Women return from their gardens in the very early afternoon. They pause at the rear door of the house only long enough to drop the machete, and without putting down their burdens of manioc and infant, go directly to the river to bathe themselves and to wash the tubers. This is a pleasurable hour. Refreshed from the heat of the morning, the women play with their infants and jest with one another. Washing the tubers is a simple task of dipping the entire basket into the water. A light midday meal follows the washing, and the routine of processing the tubers begins. The woman may start with fresh roots, but for a more tender manioc cake she will allow the roots to soften for several days either in the house or in the river.

The first step is peeling. The woman seats herself at her own household compartment, her back braced against a post, her legs stretched out stiff and straight before her into the dance corridor – the public alley of the house. The manioc basket is at one side and a tray at the other. She bites the butt end of the tuber to break the skin, and using teeth and fingers pulls off the readily peelable skin. This phase of the work is leisurely. Women who are not at the moment occupied come by to chat and help casually in the peeling. A woman's daughters sit with her and help. Enough is peeled for one manioc cake – that is, one half of a basket.

The next step is the most arduous and least liked – grating the peeled tubers on a wooden board (*pediba*) that has been set with abrasive stones. A woman can usually shift this work on to her daughter or her daughter-in-law.

The scraping process is as follows. The woman sits with her feet stretched out straight before her and slightly spread. She sets the grate on her legs with its far end braced against a house post, the forward end pressed against her abdomen. She takes up two large manioc tubers from a tray, one in each hand, and scrapes vigorously with alternate arm movements with the hardest pressure on the forward stroke. The action is vigorous, involving not only full arm movements but the bending of the back from the hips. Young women of marriageable age work rapidly and continuously until bathed in sweat. When worn down to a size where it cannot be conveniently scraped any more, the tuber is thrown aside and two others taken up. Finally, a collection of scraps is assembled into a single bunch clutched in both hands and scraped down virtually to the very bottom. This is a break in the work rhythm since both hands are used together and the move-

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462 ment is slower and altogether less vigorous. Usually, except when she
461 is very strong and young, the woman interrupts her scraping for a
252 rest or change of occupation. For example, the work may be staggered. If the mother begins the scraping and the daughter continues with the peeling, the daughter, when she has finished peeling, will take over the scraping, while the mother prepares to begin the next process. The manioc mash that has accumulated at the far end of the board is removed by hand and thrown into a basket tray, and the liquid drained off into a pot to be poured out.

[415] A substantial part of the poisonous liquid of the manioc has been removed in the scraping on the grater; the mash is further dried by pounding it through a tightly woven basket sieve. A tripodal frame is set up and the sieve set on it at a woman's waist level. The pounding, also strenuous work, requires vigorous motion of the arms, back, and shoulders. With both fists clenched the woman attacks the mash, [516] using her arms as pistons in a crisscross motion. The mash is frequently turned. As this work is done standing up, the woman has a chance to limber her legs. Because of the height at which the sieve is set little girls are not very efficient at the pounding, and only help out for a little while. When the mash is relatively dry after a thorough pounding it is put into a long tubular squeezer (the tipiti). The woman grips the lower end of the flexible tube between her knees, and bending the top toward her, fills it with the mash from the sieve. When full, the squeezer is hung from a projecting beam at one of the house posts. Through a loop at the lower end of the squeezer a long pole of heavy wood is inserted, the fulcrum end going through a few twists of heavy rope around the post. This phase of the work affords the woman a rest from the strenuous labor of scraping and pounding. She may sit on the pole, adjusting the pressure by the distance from the fulcrum. A woman is sometimes joined by another, who helps her sit on the pole. The liquid starch that runs down the sides of the squeezer is collected in a pot set for it. The pot is covered with a layer of ash that absorbs the volatile prussic acid, and the clear starch is used as the base for a porridge.

The mash, free of much of its prussic acid content, is finally formed into a cake upon the flat circular oven at the rear of the house. The baking is leisurely and as women wait their turn at the communal oven they enjoy some sociable moments.

462 A good housewife prepares a fresh manioc cake daily since the
252 cake tastes best when fresh, moist, and warm. On the second day a
[512] cake is dry and considerably less palatable. Thus, under ordinary conditions, the routine of manioc preparation is daily. However, a wom-

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an who has daughters to help her can prepare a surplus of mash that, covered with banana leaves or stored in a circular bark bin, holds over to the next day. Whatever time a woman spares from manioc cake preparation is immediately absorbed by other duties, among them the making of chicha and farinha, which is simply the manioc routine all over again. When a woman prepares manioc for chicha, however, she has the help of her husband, but only at those stages that are totally distinct from manioc cake preparation. The Cubeo tradition is for men to take no part in *duno* production, once they have made the clearing. Still, men do help their wives in peeling the manioc tuber. Since the knife has begun to supplant the teeth as a peeling implement, men, who are the most expert in handling knives, feel somewhat more free than formerly to help – but not without embarrassment. I once walked into the house and saw the headman sitting amiably beside his wife and peeling manioc with a knife. Were I a proper Cubeo I would have managed to appear as though I had seen nothing. But the sight was so unexpected I stared. The man flushed and dropped the knife and tuber. Then he collected himself and explained that his wife was not well and so he felt he should help her. He assured me, as his wife smiled, that he never did this ordinarily.

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Whereas all women share the same general manioc routine, individual circumstances differ. A young married woman with young children has no one to help her and must work very hard in contrast to an older woman with several daughters who can relieve her of much of the work. A woman with many sons and no daughters has a very heavy burden. The men provide her with a very large garden, they eat heavily, they are sociable and plan drinking parties. An old woman living alone prepares her own small manioc cake ration, and worries rather that she can call on no man to enlarge her manioc garden. Yet in all these individual circumstances one observes leveling factors as well. The household with very young children eats less, has less need to entertain, and has smaller trade needs. The household with grown daughters eats more, entertains more – suitors and their parties for example – and has great needs for trade goods, skirts, and ornaments for the girls. The household with many men has greater access to trade goods through their wage labor and saves on farinha. An old woman living alone may eat with her close kin and so devote her manioc production entirely to farinha, if she desires. There are no significant differences in manioc cake consumption. Families differ only in the rather small prestige of owning trade goods and in

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592 554 [433] providing drinking parties. While prestige is not a negligible factor in motivating production it is secondary to subsistence needs.

Compared to manioc, all other subsistence horticulture is of trifling 241 significance. The list of Cubeo cultivations besides manioc is a lengthy 262 one, but except for the pupunha palm there is nothing on it that adds bulk to the diet. Crops cultivated by the Cubeo include bitter manioc (*kerika*), yam (*nydmu*), sweet potato (*yapika*), maize (*kardiye*), and tabena (*mwa*), as well as the following unidentified tubers: *kwaindryo, waiwari, mod, pudjú, kanéka,* and *kabéka.* In addition there are sugar cane (*kwadmene*), pineapple, (*ihlbo*), banana (*djwéye*), plantain (*óne*), pupunha (*uné*), gourd (*horóbe*), calabash [273] (*hahámu*), coca (*patú*), tobacco (*butéi*), and capsicum (*bya*). The [415] pupunha palm is important only as an ingredient in chicha. Gourds serve as vessels, and yams, sweet potatoes, sweet manioc, and maize barely supplement the diet. Sugar cane has become a most important ingredient to chicha, and every community grows several varieties of [273] melons. Most of the starchy tubers the Cubeo grow are used to lend variety to chicha, not to the solid diet.

241 The Cubeo, as I have already observed, have a very strong feeling for domestication. This covers plant as well as animal life. They are eager to plant anything that comes recommended and to follow the [272] advice of experts. Some have planted coffee shrubs, although no one drinks coffee and they have no other use for the bean. One man built an immense box on stilts which he filled with earth so that he could plant onions safe from pests. Neither he nor anyone else in his com- [462] munity cared for onions. Sugar cane, as already noted, is mainly a male cultivation, but all other food products except for manioc may be grown equally by either men or women. No plant is neglected and the busiest woman seems to have time to look after her plantings, which may be scattered all over the secondary clearing or inner plaza. [431] The produce of these scattered plantings, a melon or two, a handful [621] of sweet potatoes, are often given as gifts from one household to an- [85] other. Children, too, have their plantings.

Finally, every household has chickens, descended from stock 235 brought in by white settlers. Chickens belong to women, mainly, I believe, because that is what the Colombians and Brazilians thought [262] was proper. Although the Indians take good care of the chickens they [439] do not ordinarily eat them, regarding them either as pets or trading them to the occasional white man who comes by. In some communities, chickens roost in nearby trees – others provide roosting places in the maloca. A few communities rear ducks in the same manner,

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A few communities rear ducks in the same manner, and some Indians have experimented valiantly with rearing pigs as pets.

The trade element in Cubeo experimentation with plants and animals is important but not, to repeat, the exclusive interest. I had been living among the *Bahúkiwa* a short time when they learned of my liking for fruit. I was constantly presented with fruit, some wild and some cultivated. I usually made some payment in the form of a small gift. Word spread along the Cuduiari. One morning I saw a fleet of a dozen canoes or so, each heaped high with bananas, plantains, pineapple, lemons, and oranges, coming to the community. It was all for me, brought in the expectation that I would reciprocate with a gift. This transaction, however, was an unusual one, for normally the Indians have no market for any food product but dry manioc – farinha. They have no great taste for fruit and grow more than they normally consume for the sheer satisfaction of growing it. Lemons, for example, are used by women to prepare a hair wash.

MANUFACTURES

Cubeo material culture is rather elaborate for a tropical forest tribe, but not as fully developed as is that of the more westerly tribes that have a cotton technology. Material culture has been treated by Koch-Grünberg and is, moreover, fully covered in the *Handbook of South American Indians*. I shall confine myself then to a discussion of manufactures as it bears upon an understanding of Cubeo social life.

There are few products made jointly by men and women. Men ordinarily make all objects that are of wood or fiber, while women specialize in ceramics. Thus, the great bulk of material equipment has been made by men. This includes the house, all baskets and trays, hammocks, canoes, signal drums, ceremonial objects, musical instruments, weapons, and fishing gear. Women make pottery, including the large ceramic plate of the manioc oven and the hourglass-shaped pottery hearthstones. They also prepare gourds as dishes and water containers since these supplement pottery dishes. There is a small basket (*póbü*) in which personal articles are kept, and this is made by young girls as well as by men. The only product that is jointly made is the *pediba*, the manioc grating board. Men make the board, execute a design on it, and women insert the bits of stone that form the grating surface. Whatever is made is either as a specific gift or to replace an object or utensil that is no longer serviceable. Men work slowly and for short intervals, so that the completion of a

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simple basket is often a matter of several weeks. Every man has at his side, so to speak, a number of unfinished objects which he hopes to get at before too long.

The sexual division of labor in manufactures is rather firmly maintained. I learned of few objects in use that were not made by a member of the proper sex. Young men are drawn to pottery making, but they may handle clay in a playful manner only. They make pots and dishes in strange shapes, working rather expertly. Such dishes are given to children as toys and are soon destroyed. Children, boys and girls, play with clay, making small animal or human figures and quickly destroying them. No permanent clay figures are ever made. Serious pottery work is an annual affair, undertaken by the women when the falling river has exposed the clay banks. All at once the women working together renew the household ceramic ware.

Manufacture is most often a group activity, and like all group activities is regarded by the Indians as a pleasurable recreation. The exception to this rule is perhaps housebuilding, which is often strenuous. Even then, when the exertion of the task has broken the spell of good feeling, the men stop and turn to another task. A large maloca can be a very long time in building. Among the *Bahúkiwa* a house begun when I arrived was not yet complete when I left almost a year later. A house must be built by a group working together not only for technical reasons, but in obedience to the principle that all who are going to live in it must work on it.

Building the communal house is a major technical and social enterprise. It tests the capabilities of the headman and the morale of the community. The true maloca is a solid structure built with great care, skill, and concern for details. Temporary houses may be slipshod in construction, but when a house is slipshod it is either clearly designated as temporary or it will be a cause of shame. Every part of the house is built with the greatest care, but nothing reveals more clearly the Cubeo concern for combining structural integrity and aesthetic design than the lashings that hold all the materials together. The most conspicuous lashings are those that bind the main beams. The builders start with temporary house posts and with temporary lashings. Finally, when the entire structure is in place, an expert lasher goes over the entire inner structure, replacing the beams and rebinding them in a consistent pattern, using carefully chosen lianas. The Cubeo are painstaking in all crafts, but the maloca is their supreme creation. I was able to observe almost every stage in the construction of a maloca among the *Bahúkiwa*. I do not recall that a single bundle of roofing thatch was laid under pressure or

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under duress. Men worked on the house only when they felt cheerful and dedicated to the work. The man who felt out of sorts dropped away and returned only when his spirits had improved. Dependency upon mood was one of the most important factors delaying completion of a house.

Even so, the magnitude of the technical problems is not to be underestimated. The mere assemblage of material is a complex, arduous, and time-consuming task. Construction materials are not always close to hand. The *Bahúkiwa* fetched roofing thatch from the mouth of the Cuduiarí in what was technically the territory of the *Hehénewa* sibs. Their house of 12 compartments consumed 360 bundles of thatch, and, since each canoe could transport only five bundles, over a hundred canoe loads were needed, a task that would normally be spread out over many months. The *Bahúkiwa* headman was able to borrow from the *Comisaría* a large cargo barge and in this way a great deal of time was saved. Even so, a large party of several households camped for weeks on the lower river during a dry season, gathering and preparing the parana palm thatch (*tciná*). Altogether, thatch gathering consumed 50 days of the time of at least half the community. The practice is for the headman to institute a "crash program" to get each phase of the work well under way. His problem is to fit each phase of construction into the routine of daily and of seasonal life with minimum disruption. Strictly speaking, the decisions are not his. His is the technical voice, but he will do nothing without discussion with the household heads. Roofing can be cut during the two dry seasons and can never be finished in only one. Gathering, trimming, and binding the parana palm leaves into sheaves is the only housebuilding task in which women share.

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The headman, together with his firmest supporters, that is, his own sons and blood brothers, has the specific responsibility for erecting the central framework, the three pairs of heavy posts that will support the main weight of the roof. Others may help in this if they wish but they have no specific obligation to do so. The inner framework of three pairs of heavy posts forms the inner box around which the rest of the house is built. The timbers must be carefully chosen and then well dug in, while the parallelogram must be very carefully laid out. The floor plan is laid out with long sticks, and right angles are very accurately estimated. The rest of the framework including the ridgepole is a collective enterprise and is the second stage of construction. Roofing is the third stage. When enough roof has been laid down to provide even a bare shelter, the close kin of the headman move in.

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342 move in. The walls and the two great doors that can be swung up are built long after the house is fully occupied.

283 824 Much of a man's spare time is devoted to preparing string of one sort or another – fishline, hammock strings, binding ropes. The most common material is from the miriti palm. The palm leaf is boiled in water and allowed to soak until long, strong fibers can be drawn from it. These fibers have extraordinary tensile strength and, therefore, have wide use among the Indians. The lower and thicker part of the leaf is slit with a knife or broken by hand to expose the fibers, which are then stripped off in one smooth, continuous motion. The man holds the leaf pinned to the ground with his great toe and pulls [462] the fibers upward. Essentially it is men's work but women and children help in pulling out the fibers. After the fibers have been allowed to dry by exposure to the air, several are joined together and rolled on the thigh into a string. Occasionally a woman helps her husband roll fishline. The end of the string is gripped between the great toe and its adjacent member and allowed to pass under the frontal arch of the foot and so is held firm. Rolling twine is leisurely work. Men rarely make more than they need for a particular purpose. [314] Fishline is coated with resin. This will not only strengthen it and make it easier to handle, but, the men told me, the resin darkens the line so that it will not be seen by the fish.

463 The Cubeo have no true category of specialist. That is to say, they expect all adults to possess the skills for making all ordinary household articles that are on the roster of sib manufactures. They must, of course, contend with differences in aptitude. They do so by giving the inept the fullest technical help, either by advice, or, if necessary, by virtually making the article. But even when total aid is given, the object is considered to have been made by its owner with help.

463 622 Items of public use, and these include ceremonial equipment and musical instruments, require special proficiency and are made by the headman and by aspirants to the office. The headman then is a specialist, but his specialty is in esoteric objects for public use.

TRADE

439 The entire Northwest Amazon area is a vastly complex trading network. Objects of every description, household implements, ornaments, musical instruments, ceremonial objects, plants, pets, and magical substances are in constant circulation from tribe to tribe, from sib to sib. Indians who are in contact with the trading centers of Colombians and Brazilians are often middlemen, pumping manu-

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439 business. The Indians are now aware that in their dealings with the whites their labor and their products have a fixed value with some [462] leeway for bargaining. Direct commercial trade, object for object, is almost exclusively the province of the Indian women. This is not a new role for them because they also are active in intertribal and intersib trade. Because women do not have as much contact with whites as do their men they still inject into the commercial trading much that is traditional.

439 571 The traditional attitude is that any exchange is part of a patterned social relationship. An exchange establishes a linkage between the principals and each is aware of his obligations and of the showing he must make. The obligation is of generosity, the temptation to give somewhat more than one has received. The impression to be made [831] is that one does not haggle over objects. An exchange between a man and a woman who are sexually eligible to one another introduces the additional element of flirtatiousness. All of these elements enter into and complicate and enliven the farinha trade. The more experienced men are able to adapt to commercial methods, but since it is improper for a man to conduct his wife's business for her he will stand aside when she is trading her farinha.

439 I never witnessed the intertribal trade, but when I pointed to an object and asked who had made it or where it had come from, its provenience and the nature of the transaction were always known. Manioc grating boards, for example, generally come from the Isana River. The Cubeo often traded European articles for tribal manufactures, less because they needed the tribal object than to satisfy another Indian's need for the European article. A Macú once wanted matches and gave a small basket for a box. The Macú baskets are highly valued, but in this case the initiative was with the Macú. An [183] important principle of native trade in the area is that an object asked [576] for must be surrendered. One must be careful, therefore, not to ask for something the owner might be reluctant to part with. Thus the [123] *Bahúkiwa* headman asked me as a condition of my staying in his community not to offer to buy ceremonial objects. "If you ask for them," he explained, "we shall have to give them to you. How shall we replace them?" Thus, there is an element of delicacy in intertribal trade. At the same time there is a compulsion to engage in trade so as to give significance to the meeting of people of different tribes. In sum, while intertribal trade eventually satisfies the requirements of the Indians for specialized objects they would not ordinarily have, each individual transaction responds to motives that are often only indirectly economic. Trade objects circulate readily. Thus, a set of

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The relation of the men to the manioc cultivations is as follows. By working jointly in making a clearing the men are fulfilling, in part, a sib obligation. This is of minor importance, however, as compared with the specific obligations and the ensuing relationship between a man and a woman. No bond between a man and a woman is of greater importance and richer in sentiment than that set up by the making and cultivating of a manioc garden. Every garden plot defines a relationship between a specific man and a specific woman. A woman without a man can have no garden. A man without a woman has no clearing to make; he can have subordinate status only in another household. Each side gains status from the arrangement. The only firm bond is that between husband and wife. A widow has only a frail claim upon the labor of her brother, whose primary obligation is to his own household, where his wife keeps jealous watch over her own *chagra*; for a woman's pride is deeply involved in the size of her manioc clearing. The Cubeo regard the size of clearing as a sign of a husband's affection for his wife. A widow has a better claim upon an unmarried son. As we shall see, between unmarried brother and unmarried sister a semiconjugal relationship develops over the material holding of land.

We have spoken of a reciprocity in status involved in the manioc *chagra*. There is also a specific and related economic reciprocity. By making a clearing a man obligates his wife's production. The preparation of manioc cake is never spoken of as a wifely obligation, but chicha and farinha are. The point of economic reciprocity as it sometimes emerges in the course of conjugal quarrels is entirely one of status and not of so fundamental an issue as food. If we are to speak of male-female reciprocity on matters of food the issue is between the male flesh foods and the female cultivated foods. Although a man obligates his wife's labor for chicha and for farinha he evidently does not obligate all of it, for a woman will suddenly declare that she is cosponsoring a drinking party by a contribution of "her" manioc. Moreover, it is part of the status of a wife that she can freely contract part of her farinha production for personal objects, such as cloth and trinkets. If there is a formal principle governing this kind of connubial economic arrangement I did not learn what it is.

The point to emphasize with respect to manioc cultivations, then, is that the issue in possession of land is not simply that of subsistence. It would be unthinkable for a Cubeo to allow a sibmate, or phratry mate for that matter, to hunger if he had any food for him. When a solitary woman laments that her *chagra* is exhausted and no kinsman is moving to make another for her, the fear she voices is not that she

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serve, perhaps of suspicion, as though the meal had established a relationship between me and the "enemy." Because, at their insistence, I lived among the *Bahúkiwa* as an "Independent" in a small hut of my own I shared only in the festive meals. But when I traveled with them and took part in what they were doing I shared in the food of whatever household I happened to be most closely associated with in the current activities.

Men give game and fish to their wives and to their mothers. If there is to be a further distribution to other women the wives and mothers usually make it. When a man gives fish or game to a girl whom he may marry he will have declared his intentions. In ceremonial friendship, food exchange between men and women is a most important token of closeness of relationship. In food preparation the Cubeo follow the common tropical forest pattern: women boil, men bake and broil.

The visitor to a maloca is given a pepper pot (*bya*) in which to dip a bit of manioc cake. This offering of the pepper pot is a token of feeding; it may even be refreshing to a weary traveler but it is not food; it is in lieu of food. The casual visitor is received into the coolness of the house and is offered the visitor's bench near the door. When he is seated, the headman's wife appears with a small pot of boiled capsicum peppers which she sets on the ground before him. She withdraws after inviting him to eat. She then comes back with a tray on which is a manioc cake or a portion of one, sets this before the pepper pot, and withdraws. Then each woman of a household brings forward her own pot of peppers and adds manioc cake to the tray of the headman's wife. When the guest is alone with the pepper pots he leaves the bench, and, crouching, dips small bits of manioc into the pepper pot, taking care to taste of each. He does not eat as though hungry, but solemnly, just tasting. He returns quickly to the bench and the women come forward and remove the pots. That is the extent to which a guest is fed. The offering of *bya* and manioc cake has a precise meaning. It is enough food to betoken hospitality. On the other hand, the peppers are of a class of excitant substances that are suitable for the atmosphere of excitation when guests are entertained. Food formality is most marked among the elders and most relaxed among younger men either not yet married or newly wed. I have seen such young men visiting another sib mock the formalities of the pepper pot with their age mates and even join in a family meal. When they do so they make it clear that they are jesting.

Within the maloca there are two eating arrangements. One, within the household, is informal, and the other, collective or maloca-wide, is formal. In informal eating, husband, wife, and children of both sexes

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home from the garden represents her carrying capacity. These are the technical problems. They are not inherently formidable, except in terms of the traditional sexual division of labor of the Cubeo. The men who make the original clearing can call upon group labor and they have the spare time. If increase in manioc cultivation were only a matter of preparing a clearing it would be relatively easy for any community to double its present zone of planting. The Cubeo, however, must calculate the size of a clearing in accordance with how much land the women of a household, working independently, can cultivate. On her part, the woman does not cultivate more than she can handle in the course of her accustomed routine. In manioc cultivation each household is autonomous; and while a woman can call upon the help of another woman when she is not well there is simply no collective or cooperative organization to help harvest, bring in, and process the crop. The headman who has the authority to direct the masculine work party that prepares the clearing has no jurisdiction over the work of the women. And neither does anyone else.

Nor does the nature of demand place much pressure upon manioc production. Under ideal conditions at least two-thirds of the manioc crop is for food. The rest is divided between chicha and farinha. Since the Cubeo are moderate eaters and do not have the custom of feasting outsiders, the demand for manioc as food is inelastic. There is only a little more elasticity in the demand for chicha. Although the drinking party is a principal means for binding the sibs it cannot be said that increasing the quantity of chicha consumed at a party or adding to the traditional number of parties would promote additional sib cohesiveness. In this instance a law of diminishing returns may be said to operate.[3] In any case, since each sib assumes some of the responsibility for entertaining the others, the burden of supplying the chicha is phratry-wide. The poorer sibs entertain less often than do the richer ones.

It is in the production of farinha that some elasticity in demand may be expected. Farinha, as the Cubeo equivalent of a "cash crop," pays largely for vanity articles, ornaments that have no traditional sanction, but also for cloth petticoats, that have now become customary apparel. However, this aspect of production for the market is also socialized. The goods a woman acquires from the sale of her farinha are largely committed to the intricate network of gift exchanges that apply between husband and wife, brother and sister, and between ceremonial friends of opposite sex. In a general way

[3] See the chapter on the drinking party.

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and wife, is based upon complementarity. Complementarity of necessity entails more precisely structured relationships than does a homologous relationship as prevails particularly among brothers, the importance of seniority notwithstanding.

Among the Cubeo, the brother-sister relationship is modeled rather closely upon the husband-wife relationship, particularly in respect to forms of economic reciprocity. Even in sexual respects there appears to be a quasi-conjugal relationship. The conjugal division of labor is that a man clears a garden and his wife cultivates it. He provides fish and game, she provides the staple, manioc. She brings in forest products that can be gathered, such as grubs, ants, wild fruits, and he supplements it further by such extra cultivations as pupunha, sugar cane, squash, gourd, coca, tobacco, and *mihi*. She makes pottery and he basketry. Under more modern conditions the women secure trade goods from the whites by bartering farinha, while the men barter their labor in the rubber forest for trade goods. The women acquire, in the main, trade goods for themselves, but will always barter something for a husband, son, or brother. Similarly, a man works primarily for his own wants, such as a muzzle-loading shotgun, but will always take part of his wages in goods for his wife, daughter, or sister.

To carry this account of sexual economic complementarity further, we might add that the women prepare all the regular everyday meals while the men take over the food preparation – with the assistance of the women – for the great events when big game (e.g., tapir) or a spectacular catch of fish has been brought in. In ceremonial life it is the role of the men to astonish the women with the mysteries of the ancestor cult and the role of the women to be astonished. One of the functions of ceremonies that maintain mystery between the sexes is to augment the tension of complementarity.

Sexual complementarity is an aspect of adult status. The young are attached to generalized groups only, the boys in a young male pack that attaches itself only loosely to the adult males, while the little girls are charged with household chores under the direction of their mothers. Adult status is reached by a woman when she has a manioc garden of her own, by a man when a woman is cultivating particularly for him. From this point of view, full adult status is gained only at marriage. The Cubeo brother-sister relationship provides for adult status in advance of marriage and, as we shall see, serves to facilitate marriage and often to protect the stability of marriages. Above all, the brother-sister relationship seems to satisfy a very strong need for particularized relationships.

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574 of drinking parties that drew guests from every sib. For the
614 *Bahúkiwa* this was a considerable social triumph since, being rela-
554 tively low-ranking, they would ordinarily have had more modest social ambitions. Eventually this activity tapered off, and by the time I left the drinking parties had become very small and subdued.

574 Social rivalry is only an undercurrent of the drinking party, for
571 nothing is more reprehensible than open boasting. A sib must also
614 be careful not to overdo, for then people will regard it as too pre-
[578] sumptuous and will not attend. At the conclusion of the most successful of the parties given by the *Bahúkiwa*, when the headman was beaming at the sight of the immense and disorderly throng drinking and dancing in his still-uncompleted house, the guests were already saying that he was overdoing matters. Some told me that they suspected the headman of wanting to become leader over the river. The
[152] anxiety of the host as to whether his guests will come is matched by
[578] that of the sib that fears it may be ignored when the invitations go out. The normal expectation is that all will be invited and that all will come. At the same time, the drinking party is thought of as a display of friendship and trust, so that if there is any cause for rancor between sibs they will not attend one another's parties. Thus, when sibs that have been invited do not attend and sibs that should be are not invited, speculation is provoked as to why. Some speculation can take an angry and morbid turn.

574 In its predominantly positive aspects the *unkúndye* has a tonic
614 effect upon the life of almost the entire river. It is particularly bracing to the host sib. An intersib drinking party is given both in the name of the sib and in the names of individual sponsors. The instigator and chief sponsor of a party is, of course, the headman. He will invite cosponsors, usually but not exclusively the male heads of the individual households, so that he can count on the full cooperation of all. The week or so of active preparations demanded by a good-sized *unkúndye* is, in spite of heavy and often round-the-clock labor, a very happy time. The Cubeo regard collective effort that is carried out in good spirits as a great happiness. The preparations for
574 the *unkúndye* mark one of the very few occasions when men, women,
462 and children are all working together. Males normally avoid contact
252 with manioc that is being prepared as food. But they do handle many
522 stages of manioc being prepared as chicha. Even so, to handle manioc in any form a male must adopt an appropriate attitude of levity; it should appear that what he is doing is a game. The women thus are surrounded by rollicking men and are readily infected by their gay mood.

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An ordinary drinking party lasts from late afternoon until dawn of the following day. During this time only children will be fed or will sleep. With hammocks and cooking utensils out of the way the maloca yields up its everyday character and is exclusively a dance hall, in a sense a ceremonial center.

At the height of the festivities sibs are all intermixed. But this mixing happens slowly. Earlier in the evening sibmates have bunched together. One has the impression that one of the "functions" of the drinking party is to break down, temporarily at least, the excessive autonomy of the individual sibs. At big drinking parties the men of the visiting sib arrive armed with loaded shotguns, as in the past they came armed with lances. The armament symbolizes the autonomy and the latent hostility of the separate sibs. When the men are armed, the transition from separateness to mixing is more dramatic because then the sight of bunches of armed men crouched with their rifles between their knees conveys, as it is intended to, an atmosphere of menace. At the end they have put their arms away for the fellowship of drink and dancing. Women, however, are fearful that after the men have begun their usual drunken brawling they will use their weapons. I never saw this happen although several women assured me that drunken shootings were common enough.

The chicha is kept at the rear of the house in great pottery jars, in great drumlike wooden tubs as big as canoes, and in canoes that have been scrubbed clean for this purpose. The quantity that is always prepared is intended to be prodigious. It will call for very active drinking on the part of all, men, women, and in a playful way by children, for the last of it to be consumed by dawn. The saying is: "No one leaves until the chicha is all gone," and the male guests gayly promise to drink "until we vomit." The hosts ply the guests mercilessly with chicha, hunting them down in the dark corners of the house, waiting for them to leave a dance formation, good-naturedly pushing them if they are asleep or more likely pretending to be asleep. After a time, the groan of a guest who sees the pursuing calabash thrust at him again is genuine enough. Women will serve chicha but it is properly a man's chore. Only the men are aggressive servers.

Among neighboring Tucanoan-speaking as well as Arawakan tribes chicha is served ceremoniously, the bearers of the calabashes dancing toward the guests in single file, crouching, knees raised high to chest. They weave in a snake dance and utter monosyllables such as *ma ma ma* or *tsa ha ha ha*, and conclude with a piercing *he he he*. The Cubeo do this when they serve the sacred drug *mihí* but I never saw them serve chicha in this manner.

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765 535 532 ing, like a pennant, bark-fringe streamers. The *Borikakü* usually dances with *Máwayo*, its compatriot, the red-mouthed aracú. In a joint dance they carry a rope ladder (*towándo*) made of three parallel strands of rope into which wooden rungs are set. Attaching the ladder to a roof beam, they climb and descend.

THE MINNOWS

Although the Minnows (*Emíwa*) wear no masks they are definitely part of the dance ensemble; they have a dance step, a song, and a dramatic role. The Minnows are the youngsters and form a school of fish that presumably stands for the youngsters' play pack.[4] They are a boisterous element, moving in and out among the masked dancers. Lacking masks and, accordingly, formal ceremonial status they play a counterpoint of sheer spontaneity to the more solemn dances of the masks. While the role clearly belongs to youngsters, boys are not limited to it. Prepubescent boys do, indeed, wear masks. Those I saw were Butterflies and I was told that a youngster may dance any role but *Yawí*, the Jaguar. The Minnows play on curious [534] shrill whistles. The whistles resemble a short three-tube Panpipe and are mounted at the end of a stick about a yard in length that is hung with three streamers of bark cloth. The dancers wear ankle rattles and dance in a spiral formation, taking two accented steps forward and then two oblique steps back. They hold their whistle sticks pointing up. They have no particular formation, dancing sometimes abreast, sometimes in line, and, alternately, in disorder. The Minnows do all their dancing among the women, who dote on them and ply them with chicha.

XUDJÍKO AND *XUDJÍKÜ*

765 534 769 The "grandmother" and her consort are, for the Cubeo, the truly solemn and sacred element of the *óyne*. Represented by giant 15-foot-long trumpets of wound bark that are bound as twins to a single frame, they are taboo to all the women, as are all ancestral horns. The trumpets are capable only of deep, mournful notes and represent ancestral mourning. It is the grandmother, however, who has [462] come to mourn and not the grandparents. The reason for this is that it is a woman's role to be an official weeper. Men may and do

[4] It will be recalled that in the story of *Kúwai* and the anaconda, the penis of the anaconda is transformed into four minnows that are given to the adulterous wife to eat.

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weep at an *óyne* but only as partners of women, whom they join in the formal weeping embrace. The ancestral role of *Xudjiko* and her consort is different from that of the ancestor trumpets used in the initiation ceremonies. Some of the latter are regarded by the Cubeo as sib or as phratry ancestors and are incorporated in the genealogies. *Xudjiko*, on the other hand, is a tribal ancestress and, so far as I could determine, is not a part of any genealogy. *Xudjiko* and *Xudjikü* are constructed for the occasion and are secreted along the river, to arrive at the proper time by canoe. A special place over the grave, in the forward side of the house at the left, is prepared for the twin trumpets, and they are almost constantly played by two men seated side by side on low stools.

THE SIB UNITS

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The last group of dramatic characters are the sib units. An *óyne* is normally a phratric affair, each sib attending as a unit to express condolences, to mourn, and to vow vengeance against the enemy. Since the suspicion of sorcery may fall upon any man, even within the nuclear family, the sibmen are in effect required to declare their innocence by the strength of professed grief and anger. Sibmen also appear as masked dancers, but in that guise they have no sib identity. As sibmen they play a role of great solemnity, behaving with meticulous decorum, grim-faced and unsmiling, carrying weapons as signs of male wrath and power. They maintain this demeanor undeviatingly since they perform their necessary ritual observances early, before the effects of chicha, narcotics, and the excitement of the dance have eroded the orderliness with which the *óyne* began.

ORGANIZATION OF THE ÓYNE

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As a complex ceremony, interweaving many ritual elements and magical and religious themes, the *óyne* follows its intricate course with apparent spontaneity. One does not observe overt central direction; the dancers seem to know just what to do and when to do it. The hosts act as general guides only, not by instructing the guest dancers but by guiding the major phases of the ceremony. In this way they manage to achieve the desired atmosphere of emotional spontaneity. For all its complexity, the *óyne* is well adapted to the segmentary social structure of the Cubeo. It is a phratric ceremony in which each sib acts as a unit in ritual acts and in the dances dur-

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instruments, the largest of all South American flutes, was later obtained by Nestor and given to us to bring back to England.

While the men are alone, they carry out a trial of strength to establish the strongest members of the clan. Each man scourges the other on the back, between the head and the waist, with whips made from lianas and monkey hide. There is no fighting, but the women become more and more afraid as from the plantation they listen to their men's cries. With nightfall the sacred Jurupari flutes are carried away from the *maloca* and buried underwater in a secret stream bed. The women and children can return now, and they dance and drink *chicha* throughout the night. The feast is open to everyone. It is said that no outsider has ever witnessed this strange masochistic ceremony which is the nearest thing to initiation known among the Tukano.

As a boy grows up, he takes his place with the men. He has his own bow, arrows and curare. He takes cocaine and can wear the full feather head-dress in the tribal dances. He soon chooses a wife from a neighbouring clan, and brings her back to live in his headman's *maloca* and share in the work of the plantation. Though the headman may have two wives, monogamy is the normal rule. Should a young man wish to be independent, he may leave the house of the headman and go off into the jungle to cut his own *chagra* and build his own house.

The forest offers no incentive to communal living. There is always room for more people and other *chagras*, and independence or friction often breaks up the family before economic necessity rules it. On his new land a young Indian will cut the forest for his *chagra*, build a *maloca* and hunt when he has to. But he will do no more than that. It falls to the lot of his wife to provide the daily food: she plants the manioc, harvests and prepares it. She is responsible for the young children. She does the pottery, plaits the *cumare* fibre and makes the hammocks. She is the producer and to her falls the hardest work in their daily lives.

Unlike many of the Amazonian Indians who live in village communities, the Tukano live isolated in their *malocas*. A *maloca* is the only centre of human life for miles around, separated by a clearing from the surrounding forest and placed sometimes a mile or more from the river, away from the sandflies, mosquitoes and other insects that plague the banks, and from the prying eyes of enemies and strangers. The only signs of life are the moored canoes, and it may be as much as an hour's walk before the *maloca* is reached along a narrow, almost indiscernible path, which at times seems to fade away into nothing – as indeed it is meant to.

A *maloca* is built to vast proportions, often eighty feet from end to end and

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Tukano hunting with blowpipe, bow and arrows.

 [See p.62-A]

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survives, the cultivated plants have been strangled by weeds and secondary growth.

The *cacique*, the *maloca*'s pet bird, accompanies the Indians, flying from bush to bush and cawing raucously as she glides low over their heads, her olive-green breast almost brushing their hair. She perches on a charred tree-stump, looks at them as they leave the old *chagra* and enter the forest, gives a loud 'caw' and flies back to the *maloca* to see what edible scraps can be found.

In the early morning the tall forest is dank and cool, a place of silence broken only by the occasional chatter of the Indians as they move rapidly along, their sure footsteps delicately gliding over the mass of roots which forms a base to the pathway. Few birds and no animals are about; the sun's rays piercing through the thick leaf vault give life to what might be a dead world. Suddenly they come to a wide expanse of cleared land. There is a chaotic mass of fallen trees, black from recent fires, surrounded by the forest wall. It is as if a great explosion had occurred leaving behind only the charred remains.

Every year or two, when the dry season comes in late November or December, the men cut down an area of forest, and about two months later, just before the rains return, they burn the fallen timber to make a new *chagra*. With each new *chagra*, the men, who do all the clearing and burning, move further afield, so that eventually, after some five years or more, the *maloca* too will be moved to be near the plantation.

This system of shifting agriculture, the men as it were preparing the ground for the women to work on, is carried on incessantly. Partly owing to soil exhaustion, partly because of weed strangulation, the areas of cultivation must be constantly changed, and so the moving Indian population covers wide areas of otherwise untouched Amazonian forest.

It is now January; the smell of the fire still clings to this battlefield of black charcoal. Soon, with the arrival of the rains in March, the women will plant out the manioc cuttings and by late October the first crop will be harvested; so for two years they may expect to get reasonable manioc yields from their *chagra*, after which they must move again.

The men run over the fallen tree-trunks and from the new *chagra* they move into an area partly overgrown by weeds and secondary growth. Here, placed almost mathematically across the *chagra*, in contrast to the haphazard cultivation of other plants, are the avenues of coca shrubs.

Perhaps the ritual associated with the taking of cocaine during festivals and tribal ceremonies, apart from its daily use, explains the attention given not only to its later preparation but also to the planting and picking of the leaves. The common coca shrub, always tended by the men, stands about five feet high when fully grown and may last five or more years. It is the most important of the stimulants taken by the Tukano, some of whom are heroic addicts taking as much as two ounces a day. Their life is partly geared to their addiction, and their daily practice is to come to the *chagra* and

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249 spend the greater part of the morning collecting the leaves which they pre-
462 pare during the afternoon and evening. It is a serious task and one which each man undertakes with a strange air of concentration. Each coca plant is selectively stripped leaf by leaf before the next one is tackled. The headman carries the basket with him and gradually it fills with handfuls of pale sage-green leaves. The younger men collect the leaves almost reverently in their right hands before emptying them into the basket, their faces serious, their crouched bodies shining in the strong morning sun, their short, clipped speech broken occasionally by a high-pitched laugh.

512 In the distance small ribbons of smoke rise in a misty cloud. The women
244 are just visible, their squat figures crouching among the manioc plants. They
462 can be heard laughing; occasionally a baby cries and the children romp and
85 play among the bright-green manioc plants whose tall spindly branches stretch skywards some six feet, terminating in clusters of long, thin, starlike leaves. With their babies straddled across their backs the women spend the morning cutting out the long potato-like roots from the sandy soil and putting the waste foliage into piles to be burnt. It is hot with the sun streaming down, the fires crackling and the smoke enshrouding the working bodies. There is little time for rest, though a woman will stop to swing her child around and let it suckle her breast; a mother may give a fat yellow beetle grub to her child to eat, having detached the head – a great delicacy, tasting like butter. Soon large baskets are filled with roughly peeled and half-cleaned roots.

512 The sun is high overhead and the men leave for the *maloca* with their basket
[482] full of coca leaves; on top they place large dried leaves from the *yarumo* (Cecropia) trees which grow like weeds in the *chagra*. The women too load their heavy baskets on to their backs, the headbands taking the greater part
[222] of the fifty-pound weight. The whole group hurries through the forest in silence, passing the old *chagra* where the headman's wife leaves the other women to collect pineapples, then down to the stream beneath the *maloca*. At this point comes one of the noisiest and most amusing incidents in their
[515] daily life. Not only the manioc roots are washed in the water but the babies
[85] too; the mothers vigorously shake their large baskets of roots, then stop to splash water over the backs of the children. For a short time there is cacophony, with screaming babies, splashing water, continuous chatter and laughter, and even barking dogs. But soon the stream is left to myriads of white and brimstone-yellow butterflies which circle everlastingly over the sandbanks, and the women, refreshed, their long black hair glistening in the sun, return up the path to the *maloca*.

Tobacco plants are nearly always grown in a little patch directly in front

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A graceful Tukano canoe.

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[see p. 66-A]